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A SERIES OF LETTERS

TO THE ELECTORS OF THE PROVINCE OF NEW BRUNSWICK.

LETTERS TO THE ELECTORS.

No. 1.

THE SITUATION.

GENTLEMEN:—

No person can fail to attach the utmost importance to the Elections now pending throughout this Province. Involved in them are interests of the highest moment. All persons freely admit, that the future destiny and prosperity of New Brunswick are in the balance; and it will be as readily admitted, that all should approach the consideration of the issues in a calm and thoughtful manner.

The Correspondence between His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor and his late Executive Council, reveals an extraordinary state of affairs. About a year ago, the SMITH Party assumed power, and constructed a Government avowedly "formed on a purely anti-Confederate basis;" and the public had every reason to expect that such an administration would strictly adhere to the principles upon which its members were elected by the People. After giving full weight to everything urged by His Excellency and his late advisers, I think it will be taken as an admitted fact on all sides, that within a few months after the Anti-Confederation had entered office, a "complete change of base" was made on the subject of CONFEDERATION, and that the late Government did avow its intention to accept an arrangement for the Union of the British North American Provinces. Differences of opinion on the details of the Quebec arrangement they may have continued to hold, but the abstract proposition of Confederation was adopted as part of the Governmental programme, without any reference to any further appeal to the People. At the very outset, therefore, we have a general agreement, by all influential parties, that Confederation has become one of the necessities of the times, and of our position as a Province and an integral portion of the British Empire. This agreement is at once in accordance with the declared convictions of all the other Provinces which, for their part, have considered the subject in their respective local Legislatures; and up to this time, strange to say, New Brunswick and the little Island of Prince Edward, are the only Colonies proposed to be embraced in the plan of Union which have not coincided with the reasonable wishes of Her Majesty's Government.

I think it must be apparent, also, to every loyal and reasonable person, that the just wishes of the Imperial Government deserve the frankest consideration of Her Majesty's subjects in New Brunswick, and unless insuperable obstacles present themselves, it is our duty to the Crown to give practical effect to them. We have at this time abundant reason to acknowledge the parental care and solicitude of the Mother Country, for, notwithstanding the complications

of European affairs, and the threatened insurrection of Fenian sympathizers in Ireland, that Mother Country has, with lavish generosity, provided her British North American Colonies with ample means of defence against projected attack, which, alone, they could not possibly have commanded, while from Campobello to Woodstock, our own entire border has been specially provided for by the Imperial authorities. Without reference to the Military and Naval forces stationed in and around Canada and Nova Scotia for their protection, we have in New Brunswick, at the present writing, at the sole cost of the British Government, several regiments of the line and ships of war, with immense stores of munitions, detailed for our defence, with the gratifying assurance that all the available Military and Naval power of Great Britain will, as occasion may require, be transported to our shores to protect us from insult and invasion. And at the same time, so large and munificent have been the arrangements perfected for the security of Canada also, that that Province has been almost relieved from apprehension, and has asserted its willingness most generously to send to the Maritime Provinces its own native Militia for the assistance of their Brethren in the Lower Colonies and for their defence and protection, should occasion demand such a sacrifice. Independently, therefore, of long existing claims upon our loyalty, we have in these facts alone the most convincing and cheering proof of the devoted attachment of the Mother Country to her Colonial Dependencies in North America. We should surely, therefore, approach the consideration of her expressed wishes with every desire to further to the fullest extent the avowed policy of the Empire. Let us ascertain those wishes and that policy, with a loyal desire to perform our duties in reference to them, as far as we can consistently with our own dignity and prosperity, and be prepared to obliterate all artificial lines of mere party organization in a manner which transcends all purely party interests, and which comes to us invested with the grandeur and proportions of a National Organization.

It will, also, be instructive to consider at the same time, certain points of the correspondence between His Excellency and his late Government, as we may thus be enabled, from the evidence of surrounding facts and circumstances, to arrive at a just conclusion on all debated points. For, while we should properly hold ourselves aloof from the contradictions which have unfortunately arisen between His Excellency and his late Council, and take care that they shall not divert our attention from the paramount question of Confederation, we may through the official correspondence more readily learn the true attitude of public affairs on this subject.

It will be conceded at once that His Excellency is the Representative of the Sovereign in this Province, and that Dispatches from the Imperial Government

to him have all the force of Royal instructions, and while His Excellency thought proper to retain the sword committed to his hand as Governor of New Brunswick, it was his absolute duty to carry out unconditionally the policy of the Imperial Cabinet transmitted to him.

It is also conceded that the Dispatches to His Excellency on the subject of Confederation were duly communicated to his local advisers, and were, in fact, for the most part, published for general information. It is clearly the duty of the members of an Administration to consider carefully the positions assumed by the Imperial Government in its Dispatches; and if, upon examination of them, they find themselves unable to accept the instructions conveyed to the Governor,—at once an Imperial Representative and official organ of the local Administration,—they should immediately communicate that fact to the Governor, and ask to be relieved from participating with him in any responsibility for their enforcement. If, on the other hand, we find an Administration, in possession of the explicit intentions of the Imperial Cabinet on Colonial affairs, remaining quietly in office for months,—conveying no word of dissent to the Home Government or its Representative,—acquiescing in the general policy and preparing to enforce it, and actually convening the Legislature of the Province and commending the subject to their judicious consideration, we certainly have a clear right to presume that the local Executive is not adverse to the policy of the Empire. It would reduce our constitutional system to a strange and absurd anomaly to suppose that HER MAJESTY'S Provincial Government was hostile to her Imperial Government on Colonial affairs applicable to them, and also absolutely hostile to their own official organ of communication to the Legislature and the people.

We have, therefore, an undoubted right to conclude that no such antagonism did really exist. But we have more. We have His Excellency's emphatic avowal that his Advisers did accept that policy, and "determined to approach the question of Union as it presented itself," "in a large and statesmanlike spirit, and to realize as facts the necessities which were imposed by the actual condition of affairs;" and, in pursuance of this determination, the Speech from the Throne and the proposed Reply, submitted the matter to the consideration of the Provincial Parliament. And the late President of the Council confesses that he did not dissent from the abstract proposition of CONFEDERATION, but only to certain provisions of the Quebec Convention, which he enumerated, and agreed that those should be referred, with the main question, "to a Joint Committee of both Houses." The sentiments of His Excellency were also communicated in writing to Mr. SMITH on the 7th day of March last, and then was afforded another opportunity, which certainly should have been accepted, to correct any misappre-

hension which had arisen during confidential discussions upon the Dispatches. Instead of doing so, His EXCELLENCY expressly affirms, the late President "did not deny the assumptions which His EXCELLENCY's letter contained, and verbally acknowledged the terms in which he was therein spoken of." It is useless for Mr. SMITH to affirm that this was not the case, and to assert that His EXCELLENCY was simply conveying groundless compliments to him, or endeavoring to place him in a false position, for all the preceding and surrounding circumstances strongly corroborate His EXCELLENCY's assertion. But if Mr. SMITH is correct now, by his own showing he failed to appreciate the dignity of his position and office. Then he should have brought matters to a crisis, and instead of returning no reply to a person who had misunderstood his meaning, or misconstrued it so as to place him in a false position, or trusting to mere verbal explanation, he should have opened a written Correspondence on the subject, and defaced clearly the opinions of the Council. How easy for a man thus laboring under undeserved compliments, and made responsible for sentiments foreign to his mind, to have avoided all subsequent contradictions and difficulties, and to have written His EXCELLENCY, and disabused his mind of any erroneous impressions. THIS HE NEVER DID. The inference is irresistible, and all the unfortunate results of the past few weeks are therefore, clearly traceable to him.

No. II.

THE DESPATCHES.

GENTLEMEN:—

The Executive Government of New Brunswick, it may be alleged, in July 1865, by a "Memorandum of Council," since much and unduly upon, declared that the people of this Province "are opposed to any closer connection with Canada than that afforded by the tie of common allegiance." But the answer is very simple and conclusive. Since the preparation of that Memorandum, and, to a certain extent at least, before the late Government agreed to and accepted its Confederative policy, the organization of the Government materially changed. Mr. ALLEN had been elevated to the Bench; Mr. ANGUS, the uncompromising opponent of Union on any terms, resigned on account of a gross violation of Responsible Government in connection with Western Extension and dismissals from and appointments to office; Mr. R. D. WILMOT retired; and Mr. CUDDELL and Mr. TROOP became members of the Executive. It may not be necessary here to remark that a study of the personnel of the late Government, after this Reconstruction, must satisfy every man that Mr. SMITH was the ruling as well as the presiding spirit—if he was not *de facto* the Council in himself. Mr. WILMOT resigned because, as he alleged, there was a disinclination on the part of the Government to re-consider the question of Union. This at once brought matters to one of those little "crises" which seem to have arisen so often during the short existence of the Coalition Executive. His EXCELLENCY asserts that Mr. SMITH did then again consent to an Union policy, and it is

very clear that, had Mr. SMITH not then avowed this, and the incorrectness of Mr. WILMOT's assertion, His EXCELLENCY could not have accepted Mr. WILMOT's resignation! The fact that it was accepted after Mr. SMITH's return from Washington, and after much delay and discussion, on the advice of the Council, is a strong circumstance to substantiate His EXCELLENCY's assertion that his then advisers were prepared to adopt Confederation.

Let us now turn to consider carefully the Dispatches of the Home Government; and while, in view of the parental care so recently manifested by the Imperial powers, we are astonished at the indecent cry of "Downing Street dictation" which the enemies of the Empire have raised, let us cautiously mark the kind and conciliatory tone of HER MAJESTY'S Ministers, and discover, if we can, anything irritating, insulting or dictatorial; or any ground for concluding that they are the "sordid, mercenary, besotted tools and dupes of conspirators, only fit to be disliked and despised." "For such proceedings have they been charged withal." And we may, at the same time, hold in proud remembrance the stirring language of the Rt. Hon. Mr. GLADSTONE, who, in his late speech at Liverpool, severely denounced the Fenian designs against the British Colonies, and said, if they carried out their diabolical threats, the whole power of England would assist the Colonies in their defence. Indeed the whole paragraph breathes such a spirit of love for these Dependencies that I cannot refrain from quoting it in full, quite certain it will awaken a response of gratitude and admiration in every loyal Colonial heart. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said:

"We are told that Canada and New Brunswick are threatened with fire and slaughter from the revenge of Fenians for wrongs inflicted by England upon Ireland. This I must say, that for the men of Canada and New Brunswick, who are wholly guiltless of those wrongs, be they what they may—(hear, hear)—who are not entangled in these controversies, who have no more to do with them than the people of the Sandwich Islands—if the Fenians, as they call themselves in America, are capable of the diabolical and abominable wickedness of passing that frontier to make their miserable and impotent attempts, which they will do—(applause)—to carry desolation over those peaceful districts and among those harmless colonists—why, then, I say, gentlemen, so far from treating the conduct of those men, let them be Americans or let them be whom they like, with allowance or indulgence, I say no more execrable manifestation of folly and of guilt ever has been made in the annals of the human race from the time that it has existed upon this earth. (Loud applause.) Men who are capable of such proceedings would at once, by their insanity and their ill-placed themselves entirely beyond the sympathy of the whole civilized world. (Applause.) But I am bound also to express the fullest confidence that those men who inhabit the provinces of British North America, who have proceeded from your loins, and who are governed by principles in the main your own, know well how to defend their homes, their wives, and their children—(applause)—and that if, unhappily, the need arise, there is no resource possessed by this country which she would not freely spend to assist them in the holy work of self-defence. (Loud applause.)"

On the 12th day of April, 1865,—which date we make our present starting point,—in reply to Governor GORDON'S announcement, after the last election, of the inevitable defeat of Confederation in the new House, the Secretary for the Colonies said:

"It thus appears that the Scheme adopted by the Conference of Quebec, and approved by HER MAJESTY'S Government on the ground, among others, that it was eminently calculated to render easier and more efficient the provision for defence of the several Provinces, is likely to be defeated in New Brunswick."

The despatch then proceeds to discuss the impacticability of Defence by mere militia organization as shown and suggested by the Governor when acting in accordance with the opinions of his late advisers, and continues:

"It will be the duty of HER MAJESTY'S Government to review in all its bearings the question of Confederation [not, as has been said, to remain wedded to the Quebec arrangement,] after the several Provinces shall have had the opportunity of expressing their sentiments upon it, through their respective Legislatures. In the meantime, it will be only right for New Brunswick to bear in mind that, if the views which you have now expressed, [i.e., as to the impracticability of Militia defence alone,] are to be regarded as sound, New Brunswick as a separate Province appears able to make no adequate provision for its own Defence, and to rest in a very great degree upon the defence which may be provided for it by this country. It will consequently be likely to appear to your advisers reasonable and wise that, in examining the question of the proposed Union, they should attach great weight to the views and wishes of this country, and to the reasons on which these views and wishes have been based."

How "reasonable and wise" all this appears! The Mother Country simply desiring all the while that she may be enabled with greater ease to defend us against our armed enemies. And how soon have the words of the British Government been verified in actual experience. We were told, on the other hand, we were in no danger; that the insignificance of our position was a guarantee of our safety; and yet, in a few months after, but for the kind and spontaneous interposition of the Imperial Government, notwithstanding our strange refusal to accede to its just and generous desires, we were utterly powerless,—not in the face of an armed Nation, but before a miserable banditti of desperate and lawless men congregated upon our borders.

Dated the 24th day of June, His EXCELLENCY received a most important Dispatch, consequent upon the close of an able Correspondence between the Imperial Government and Lord MONCK on the subject of "the affairs of British North America." In this we have explicitly reiterated the distinct Policy of the Crown, and the Royal Instructions to Governor GORDON how to approach the Legislature upon its then next re-assembling, alike obligatory upon the Governor and his advisers, if they continued to hold their respective offices. Continuing to do so, they had in their own minds "accepted the actual condition of affairs," or were recreant to the duties of their high stations. That Despatch said:

"You will at the same time express the strong and deliberate opinion of HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT that it is an object much to be desired that all the British North American Colonies should agree to unite in one Government. In the territorial extent of CANADA, and in the maritime and commercial enterprise of the several Provinces, HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT see the elements of power, which only require to be combined in order to secure for these

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Provinces, which shall possess them all a place among the most considerable communities of the world. IN THE SPIRIT OF LOYALTY TO THE BRITISH CROWN, OF ATTACHMENT TO BRITISH CONNECTION, AND OF LOVE FOR BRITISH INSTITUTIONS, BY WHICH ALL THESE PROVINCES ARE ANIMATED ALIKE, HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT RECOGNIZES THE BOND BY WHICH ALL MAY BE COMBINED UNDER ONE GOVERNMENT. Such an union seems to Her Majesty's Government to recommend itself to the Province on many grounds, of moral and material advantage—as giving a well founded prospect of improved administration and increased prosperity.

But there is one consideration which Her Majesty's Government feel it more especially their duty to press upon the Legislature of New Brunswick. LOOKING TO THE DETERMINATION WHICH THIS COUNTRY HAS EVER EXHIBITED TO REGARD THE DEFENCE OF THE COLONY AS A MATTER OF IMPERIAL CONCERN, THE COLONISTS MUST RECOGNIZE A RIGHT AND EVEN ACKNOWLEDGE AN OBLIGATION INCIDENT ON THE HOME GOVERNMENT TO URGED WITH EARNESTNESS AND JUST AUTHORITY THE MEASURES WHICH THEY CONSIDER MOST EXPEDIENT ON THE PART OF THE COLONISTS WITH A VIEW TO THEIR OWN DEFENCE.

Nor can it be doubtful that the Provinces of British North America are incapable, when separate and divided from each other, of making those just and efficient preparations for national defence which would be easily undertaken by a Province uniting in itself all the population and all the resources of the whole.

Neither HIS EXCELLENCY, nor MR. SMITH, nor his colleagues, if he consulted them, could possibly misunderstand this firm but temperate language, nor could they resort to the exploded theory that Confederation was a blow aimed at the "British Crown, or the attachment to British connection, or the love for British Institutions." Enclosed in this Dispatch, was another from the Colonial Secretary to the GOVERNOR GENERAL. In this, it is said:—

"On the first subject referred to in that Minute, that of the Confederation of the British North American Provinces, we repeat ON THE PART OF THE CABINET, the assurance which has already been given of the determination of HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT to use every proper means and influence to carry into effect without delay the proposed Confederation."

To this the late Government returned their extraordinary Memorandum of Council of the 12th July 1865. Wherever may have compiled that unfortunate and ill-timed document,—with which the Confederate Party of this Province has happily nothing to do,—it reflected no credit upon the sagacity of the Council or the loyalty of the People. The late Government having accepted the entire responsibility of it, removes the minor matter of its authorship out of the question. The real compilers of it must carry the onus and odium of it to suit their own taste, nor will it answer for one man to claim peculiar excellence for having written its "loyal" paragraphs, if he subscribed his name to those which are disloyal. But it is important to consider the calm and dispassionate answer of the Home Government, forwarded by the Right Honorable Colonial Secretary, under date the 4th August 1865:—

"Notwithstanding, therefore," writes the Secretary, "your Dispatch and its Enclosure, I still confidently anticipate that the serious consideration of the Province of New Brunswick will be given to the EARNEST AND FRIENDLY SUGGESTIONS on the part of Her Majesty's Government, it has been my duty to convey to them through you."

While the Government of this Province was engaged in the preparation of their "Memorandum," the Hon. Mr. SMITH and

the Hon. Mr. ALLEN were consulting with the Home Government at the Colonial Office. They had been appointed, under the Resolutions of the Legislature to do so. What was the object of that Delegation? During the debate in the House of Assembly, its primary object was declared. The chief intentions were to explain the position of this Government and Province as intensely anti-Confederate; to correct the errors of judgment of the Imperial Cabinet; to bring HER MAJESTY and her Government to see the horrors of Confederation, and convert them to a New Brunswick Policy for the Empire!—or vice versa. Will any man of a logical or fair mind not conclude that if Messrs. SMITH and ALLEN failed in their strange mission, they ought at once to have declared so to the Home Government, to HIS EXCELLENCY and to the people? Or did they do right in pretending to participate in the Imperial Policy, by retaining office while they mentally resolved to render it nugatory?

The Dispatch from the Colonial Office referring to the Mission of Messrs. SMITH and ALLEN, says:—

"Having had the honor to confer with these gentlemen, I have answered them in entire accordance with the Dispatches I have addressed to you, explaining the views of Her Majesty's Government on the subject of Confederation. I also observed to the Deputation that as regards an Union of the Maritime Provinces, HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT can give no countenance to any proposals which would tend to delay the Confederation of all the Provinces which they are so desirous to promote, and can only aid in the formation of a closer Union between New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, if that closer Union be auxiliary to, and form part of, the scheme for general Union."

On the receipt of that Dispatch, what was the duty of the late Government to their Queen, her Representative, the country and themselves? Simply and certainly, TO ADOPT ITS POLICY, OR TO RESIGN AND APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE! They write no dispatch to England refusing to be bound by such a Policy, after Messrs. SMITH and ALLEN's mission closed;—they maintained their seats, knowing that HER MAJESTY'S Cabinet "could give no consideration to any proposals which would tend to delay Confederation;" they summoned the local Parliament, and recommended it to consider this Policy, while they officially uttered not a word that they met the Representatives of the People as antagonists of Queen, Cabinet and local Governor!

Rising from a careful perusal of these important Dispatches, and of the determination of the Imperial Government so firmly expressed, with the "earnest and friendly suggestions" embodied in them, it is surely all in vain for the late Government to pretend, in the face of those documents and in contradiction of HIS EXCELLENCY, that they held on to office without intending to carry them into practical operation. If they did, they most thoroughly ignored the duties devolving upon them as HER MAJESTY'S advisors in this Province;—and it is equally preposterous to avow that the LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR, with the Royal Instructions in his hand, contemptuously committed them to the archives of the Province without the slightest intention of carrying them into effect. It is admitted, moreover, that HIS EXCELLENCY did proceed to obey the wishes of his Sovereign.

Then the inference is irresistible, and one of two things is clearly established: First, the Government did determine to abandon "the purely Anti-Confederate basis" upon which it was formed, and to approach the question of Union as it then presented itself, realizing also as facts the necessities imposed by the actual condition of affairs; or, Secondly, They deliberately violated every principle and precedent of Constitutional and Responsible Government by holding tightly the seals of office when they had not the will, or the power, to perform the duties thus legitimately thrown upon them, or the high toned independence, (if they differed from the Home Government) to refer again to the "serious consideration of the Province of New Brunswick the earnest and friendly suggestions" of the Queen and Imperial Government, and when they were, if Mr. SMITH is correct, actually also in secret antagonism with the official organ of their own body on this very subject!

While, therefore, the enemies of the Empire are endeavoring to arrogate to the late Council, that its members are the chosen apostles and high priests of Monarchical Institutions and Responsible Government,—and point to certain gentlemen in the Upper House and in St. John, (the last representatives of a few old families of great respectability, but who stood like a great wall of fire against even the introduction of Responsible Government, and battled against it as destructive of the charmed circle which had hemmed in a few patricians as office holders by prescriptive right!) point to these as to the present protectors of the rights of the people, and as pillars of the Constitution, and while also they thus seek to divert the popular mind from the grand issue of CONFEDERATION OR NO CONFEDERATION to the discussion of a mere side issue,—it is well to bear in mind how little truth is really to be found in the ridiculous presumption, if there were no other and even more convincing proofs that the late Executive abdicated all their functions as a Government, and subverted all the leading principles of our Constitution.

During the last Election, the canvass was repeatedly resorted to by those who opposed Union, that the ear and confidence of the British Ministry had been abused; that the QUEEN and Cabinet were really opposed to Confederation; and that no time was afforded the People of this Country to learn authentically England's desires on this subject, or to form their own opinions. Very many intelligent and loyal men acted upon this theory from the most praiseworthy and patriotic motives. But the whole truth is now before the Country, and it is not too much to ask those gentlemen to review this important subject. The wishes of HER MAJESTY she has personally expressed from the Throne; those of the Ministry we have received in Dispatches; the leading minds of England, in Opposition to the present Ministry, agree cordially on Confederation; Canada, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland have declared for it; Prince Edward Island will scarcely stand out alone against the Empire, and New Brunswick is appealed to by the Realm which has blessed and protected it since this Province was founded. As before, those gentlemen were influenced at the Polls to oppose Union on such justifiable grounds, they will now reconsider those "earnest and friendly suggestions"

which have been so firmly and yet so kindly made, and based on the great desire to consolidate and advance these Provinces and to provide effectually for the "defence" of these Colonial children. If, with these things in view, the independent Electors of New Brunswick determine to resist the wishes of Great Britain and of all the other British North American Colonies, then must New Brunswick stand alone, the object of the pity and charity of Great Britain; or, drift, as the admitted only remaining and almost inevitable alternative, into ANNEXATION; to pay the enormous taxes, and bear the heavy burdens, and adopt the democratic institutions, of the United States, and, at the same time to increase the power, influence and territory of a Republican Empire on this Continent opposed to the Mother Country.

No. III.

THE CORRESPONDENCE.

GENTLEMEN,—

From the Despatches to the Correspondence between His EXCELLENCY and his late advisors, the transition is easy and natural, and I propose now to review that Correspondence, in the light of the Despatches, that we may discern the true position of the main question of CONFEDERATION.

It is very much to be regretted that any serious personal misunderstanding has arisen between the GOVERNOR and his late advisors, the more so since it has led to contradictions of a most extraordinary character. But I do not propose to endeavor to reconcile the conflicting statements, or to satisfy any man as to who is right or wrong therein. The GOVERNOR and his late Executive must settle these little questions of personal veracity between themselves, for the whole matter involved in the Correspondence, aside from Confederation, "hath this extent—no more." But when the opponents of Confederation submit their theories about Responsible Government, and claim that such gentlemen as the HON. R. L. HAZEN and W. H. ODELL are their champions in the Legislative Council, and such as Dr. THOMPSON and Mr. BOYD their supporters in the Lower House—whatever may be our personal respect for those gentlemen—it would be well to enquire what the web and woof of this latter-day Responsible Government are composed of, and to ask the canvassing agents of the Government these simple questions:— "Should I vote with you in favor of (your system of) Responsible Government, and you succeed, will you not then claim that the Election is a defeat of CONFEDERATION? and will not all Confederates, who are deceived into voting on side issues, be thus betrayed, and held to have helped the triumph of Anti-ism?" It is well to keep these considerations very prominently in view. Whether the GOVERNOR has erred,—or whether Mr. SMITH has erred,—or whether BOTH have erred, is not our concern. It is certain, that while those gentlemen were involved in their little game of disputes, a strong and efficient Government came into power, "formed on a purely Confederate basis." It will be for the Electors to determine whether a Government based on that foundation is entitled to the confidence of this British Colony. His EXCELLENCY

must answer for his conduct to his Royal Mistress, to whom alone he is responsible; and we may just pause a moment to remind our readers of the case of Governor DARLING, to which the writers of the Anti Party frequently of late refer. He was instantly recalled because he had interfered with the rights of British subjects in the Colony over which he had been called to preside; if Governor GORDON has done wrong, the same power will recall him, and surely we can have sufficient confidence in the honor of the British Crown to believe that our rights will be as sacredly guarded as those of any other Provincialists. While, therefore, we pursue our proper course on the subject of Confederation, we can safely leave the case of Governor GORDON in the hands of the Imperial Government, fully persuaded even handed justice will be dealt out to him and us.

In perfect consistency with the doctrines enunciated by the Despatches which we have already considered, the late Government through the Governor, in the Speech at the opening of the Provincial Legislature, submitted the subject of Confederation to the consideration of both branches. Mr. SMITH admits, "We finally agreed," (the Governor and himself), "upon the Speech and the Answer. During all these discussions, I communicated to my colleagues, as I always did, everything that passed between us." Here, I assert, was the first public recognition of Confederation. It is quite useless for Mr. SMITH to say, the Speech would not commit him to Union. If his Government intended to rely upon their "purely anti-Confederate basis," if they professed to hold the verdict of the people as expressed at the last election as binding and conclusive, what had the existing Legislature to do with the Union question at all? And why trifle by giving it a place in Speech and Answer? But His EXCELLENCY explains the matter, and what appears at first an absurdity assumes tangible shape. He says:

"After several communications with the other Members of the Council, Mr. Smith ultimately informed His Excellency that whilst unable to accept in its integrity the Scheme adopted at Quebec, he and his Colleagues were not indisposed to meet the wishes of Her Majesty's Government; and that it appeared to him that the requisite sanction for the adoption of such a course might be obtained if the Message transmitting the papers on this subject to the Legislature were referred to a Joint Committee of both Houses, with an understanding that that Committee should report in favour of a measure of Union."

Mr. SMITH in reply puts the case in almost the same words, except he adds in parenthesis, "A majority of whom (of the Committee) was to be OUR FRIENDS." The principle being thus conceded, the addition of the words is a mere evasion. "Our friends" they might be,—but Mr. SMITH does not deny that there was "an understanding that the Committee should report in favor of a measure of Union;" and it is now admitted that many of Mr. SMITH's political "friends" in the House were disposed to favor the Measure. Had Mr. SMITH replied, that a majority must be Anti-Confederates, the negotiations must, under the Despatches, have terminated, for it were a thing too absurd for any Governor to refer Confederation to an avowedly Anti-Confederate Committee, unless he merely intended to betray his trust, and

do a thing which "would tend to delay the Confederation of all the Provinces."

But, say the opponents of Confederation, the Legislative Council had no power or authority to act! How absurd! The Government one day ask them to act as an "independent and co-ordinate Branch of the Legislature," and next day affirm they have no power or authority to act. It will cast further light upon the views really held by the late Government on this point, when it is remembered that the Speech referred certain matters, exclusively within the province of the House of Assembly, to the House of Assembly alone, but this great National subject was addressed to the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly, and even Mr. SMITH declares "we could not control the Legislative Council." And in this connection, it may be well to quote the Despatch of the British Government, through the Colonial Secretary, on this very point:

"DOWNS STREET, 31st March, 1866.

Sir,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch No. 12 of the 14th of March.

I have perused with much satisfaction the paragraph of the Address which you enclose expressing the strong opinion of the Legislature Council in favor of the Union of the British North American Provinces.

I have the honor &c.
EDWARD CARDWELL.

Lieutenant Governor,
The Hon. A. H. GORDON.

Here the rights of the Legislative Council are at once conceded by the Imperial Government, through its organ of communication with the Colonies. Each branch is acknowledged to be independent of the other, and 'twas a very easy thing for the House of Assembly, if the Government really was sincerely opposed to Union, and could command a majority in the Legislature, to have passed a counter Resolution, and allowed both to go to the Imperial Government. It is not too much to suppose that the Government had either not the will, or not the power, to carry such a Resolution at the hands of its "friends." But, it is here to be borne in mind, as at all times, that whatever prerogatives vest in the Legislative Council, they are not now a matter for the People to deal with;—that they were essentially matters which the House of Assembly could and should have dealt with at the time by proper and respectful representation to the Imperial Government;—and the endeavor to submit it among other side issues at the pending Elections, is merely an effort to divide the Confederate Party, and thereby carry Anti-ism at the Polls.

The next matter submitted for consideration is the Resignation of the Hon. Mr. WILMOT. As has already been demonstrated, the inference from that subject is irresistible and beyond the reach of civil.

His EXCELLENCY, after referring to the Despatches; the proposed Speech and Answer; the action of the Council on Mr. WILMOT's resignation; the repeated pledges of Mr. SMITH, and the complimentary letter addressed to that gentleman in writing to which no written answer was made, but, as His EXCELLENCY affirms, a verbal acceptance of its terms by Mr. SMITH; declares that his aim was now to assist the Government of the day

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in the performance of their new duties and in the ratification of their solemn pledges. He says:

"Having thus, therefore, as he pronounced, ascertained that his Council were not dissatisfied in their own way, and at their own time, to recommend to the Legislature the adoption of an Union policy, His Excellency felt that much firmness was required in order that this change of course might be accomplished in the manner which the Council might think least injurious to themselves, and must calculate to ensure the ultimate success of the measure; and with this view, he sought to secure the co-operation of some of the leading friends of Confederation ordinarily hostile to the Government.

In doing so it was His Excellency's desire to secure aid strengthen the hands of his administration in the conduct of a difficult enterprise, believing it to be of the highest importance that this measure should not be carried as a mere party triumph, but as the expression of a National wish; nor did he suppose that the course he then took could be misunderstood by those in whose interests it was taken."

In the absence of all other testimony this simple assertion of His EXCELLENCY, —who can have no personal or party interests to gratify, and who, be it remembered, must cease to be a Governor as soon as Confederation is perfected,—is entitled to great weight; but we have, also, acts performed by him and by Mr. SMITH which carry conviction to every mind; for Mr. SMITH himself declares, and many of his "friends" in St. John and Westmorland know it to be true:

"I left for Westmorland and he (the Governor) left for Canada. I saw several of our friends at St. John as well as in Westmorland, and told them exactly what had passed between His Excellency and myself, as they will recollect, and they seemed to be willing that a Committee should be appointed."

Soon after the meeting of the House, it became clear to the Public that a decided change of base on Confederation was contemplated by the Government, and in view of this, and of the prevailing rumors, and of the hints dropped by members of the Government, His EXCELLENCY says:

"His Excellency has never ceased to urge on Mr. Smith, the expediency, and indeed necessity of a bold avowal of his intended policy; nor has he failed to express his apprehensions as to the consequences of delay in doing so, believing that until that avowal was made, Mr. Smith would become daily more and more entangled in contradictory pledges, from which he would find it impossible to extricate himself, and which might act most prejudicially on the prospects of the cause; whilst at any time circumstances might call for such action on the part of His Excellency as would place him in a position of apparent antagonism to his Council and prove productive of very serious embarrassment."

And beyond this, we have an overwhelming admission by Mr. SMITH that the abstract proposition was now conceded, for he says, he distinctly pointed out his objections to the *Quebec Scheme*, namely, in his own written language:

1. Representation by population.
2. That each Province should have an equal number of Legislative Councillors.
3. That the Lower Provinces should be exempt from taxation for the Canada of Upper Canada, and for the purchase money and other expenditures connected with the North-West Territory.
4. That the Revenues collected in the different Provinces should be for the benefit of each Province when collected, except a certain amount to be given for the support of the General Government."

But even his greatest objection, "Representation by Population," he declared he was ready to forego, if certain "checks" were provided, or some neutralizing sections introduced!

Throughout the entire Correspondence, whatever objections to the details of the late Scheme were made, or whatever mere verbal personal misunderstandings arose, the adoption of a Confederate Policy by the Government was thus, by Mr. SMITH's own admission, settled; and, as His EXCELLENCY asserts and Mr. SMITH substantially admits:

"Mr. SMITH at once left Fredericton in order to prepare his principal adherents for the altered policy he proposed to pursue, asking His EXCELLENCY to observe the strictest secrecy on the subject until his return, to report either the acquiescence of his friends, or the failure of his efforts. Mr. SMITH on his return informed His Excellency, on the 3rd of March, that his party generally were willing to assent to the course which he had consented to pursue. It was accordingly agreed to insert in the speech on the opening of the Session, the recommendation of Confederation made by Hon. MAZURET's Government, and as early as possible to move the appointment of such a joint Committee of both Houses of the Legislature as should ensure the adoption of a Scheme of Union, whilst the objections to the *Quebec Scheme* were to be carefully weighed and examined at the same time by the Committee."

Now it is important to observe that the minor contradictions in the Correspondence do not touch the substance of these great leading points of agreement in favor of Confederation *per se*.

It is, also, rather a novel fact, that while Mr. SMITH correctly states he had little conversation with the Hon. Mr. MITCHELL on Confederation when they met at dinner at Government House, Mr. SMITH does not tell the whole truth; that is to say, that after dinner Messrs. MITCHELL and SMITH drove together to Mr. SMITH's lodgings, and for upwards of two hours privately discussed the subject, and that the very names of the joint Committee of both Houses were agreed to, and that leading members of Government, already thus pledged to the Governor, including Mr. SMITH himself, were to be on that Committee.

But let us look for a moment at the proposed Committee, in its entirety. For the Lower House were:—

Mr. SMITH, Leader of the Government, thus pre-pledged to report favorably of Union.

Mr. GILMOR, Provincial Secretary in the same Government.

Mr. FISHER, *Confederate*, and present Attorney General; or

Mr. FRASER, Anti, and a representative of York County, which had so lately returned Mr. FISHER.

Mr. WILLISTON, *Confederate*, and present Solicitor General.

Mr. KERR, *Confederate*.

For the Upper House were:—

Hon. Mr. CHANDLER, *Confederate*, and member of the Quebec Conference.

Hon. Mr. BOTSFORD, *Confederate*.

Hon. Mr. ODELL, Anti, but a member of the late Government.

Hon. Mr. MITCHELL, *Confederate*, and Leader of the present Government.

Hon. Mr. TOWN, *Confederate*.

With this Committee arranged for, can there be a doubt of the policy and intention of Mr. SMITH and his "friends?" Even presuming that Messrs. SMITH, GILMOR, FRASER and ODELL voted against Union, we yet have remaining six against four; but including the Members of the Government, Messrs. SMITH,

ODELL and GILMOR, we have nine to one; that one being Mr. FRASER, for York. If Mr. FISHER was on the Committee instead of Mr. FRASER the result is unanimous.

The Proposition now before the Country is, therefore, a very simple one. It is one in accordance with the Agreement of the late Government, made with His EXCELLENCY; one which the Canadian Executive have all through been willing to accept; one which every reasonable Anti-Quebec Scheme person cannot object to; one which the Imperial Cabinet, in its Despatches, has avowed its willingness to acquiesce in; namely, to "review the whole subject of Confederation." Not, as has been unfairly insinuated, to adopt in its integrity, the *Quebec Scheme*, but that each Colony shall appoint two delegates to consider the subject in Conference,—the (Canadian) for the purposes of the Conference, to be viewed as two Provinces. Thus, all the interests of the Maritime Provinces,—which Mr. SMITH declares are "homogeneous,"—will be represented by eight Delegates, and those of the Upper Provinces by four. Surely a fairer or more equitable proposition cannot be made; one which, while it accepts the benignant policy of the Mother Country, will secure the consolidation of all the Colonies in peace and in war, and will provide all the "checks" and safeguards which are demanded by the just claims and peculiar requirements of the Maritime Provinces.

To the People, therefore, the alternative is simple. It is divested of all minor matters, of all personal disputes and of all party considerations; it rises to the dignity and grandeur of a great NATIONAL QUESTION.—CONFEDERATION OR NO CONFEDERATION! The one by the advice and desire of the British Authorities, which have overshadowed us with their protection in the hour of danger;—with the concurrence of a large representation of those Colonies having identical interests; the other, No Union at any price, or on any terms! But rather Isolation and Weakness, or Annexation.

Let us, therefore, proceed to consider what this implies.

No. IV.

CONFEDERATION.

GENTLEMEN:—

Having happily relieved the question of all entanglements, arising out of the Quebec Scheme, and out of side issues raised for selfish purposes, it is very easy to group together the great leading benefits of CONFEDERATION. As the proposed Delegation will be composed of the first political and commercial minds of the Country, probably chosen from each rival party, the objections to the details of the agreement made at Quebec will receive a profound investigation, and it will necessarily be to the interest of the Delegates from the Lower Provinces to secure a modification, or, as Mr. SMITH would say, a "neutralization" of them. And it is well to remember, that in the Correspondence, Mr. SMITH has been able to discover only four objections even to the Quebec Scheme. What are then the important interests thus admitted on all sides?

1. THE INTER-COLONIAL RAILWAY. It is scarcely necessary at this time to en-

sider the immense advantages to this Province consequent upon the construction of this great line of communication, which, while it is Inter-colonial is also of national magnitude, as a part of the great thoroughfare of transportation and travel from England to America—from New Brunswick to the waters of the Pacific. The arrangement already made, subject to the consolidation of these Colonies, is one, in a pecuniary point of view, of immense importance to us. Our contribution to the cost is far from commensurate with the admitted benefits. In addition to this, a very large portion of the route lies directly through New Brunswick, and involves in this Province alone the expenditure of Nine Millions of dollars of Capital, while the City and Harbor of St. John, as the principal heavy freight depot, will derive incalculable advantage, making our harbor, even during the otherwise dreary months of winter, alive with industry and enterprise in all the immediate and collateral interests of ships and commerce. The working man, the mechanic, the artisan and the agriculturalist, will reap the immediate benefits of this enormous outlay at an inconsiderable cost, while the opening up of our country, and the increased facilities for commerce and communication will bring the indirect returns to every one of our Countrymen,—whatever his avocation and whatever his position in life.

II. FREE TRADE between the Colonies is another great boon. The hostile Tariffs and the unequal Currencies, with Custom Houses and Excise Officers on the geographical boundaries of each little Colony, have retarded great works of internal Industry, and deprived the intelligent Colonist of any enlarged market for the products of his craft. There is not a large manufacturer, or mechanic, or merchant, who has not seriously felt this. No matter how capable our artisans, how frugal and industrious; no matter how enterprising our merchants; no matter how rich our soil in mineral wealth; no matter how remunerative our great forests might be made; no matter how anxious our people may be to compete in honorable rivalry with the people of sister Colonies,—on every side adverse and irritating Tariffs and vexatious Currencies have met them, and kept them practically "cribbed, caged and confined."

It only requires a moment's reflection to satisfy every man at all acquainted with the Trade and Commerce of our Province, of the many immense advantages of Union which must accrue from the increase of the already large business done among us, from the Western Shores of Nova Scotia and from Prince Edward Island alone, when the vexatious Customs, Duties and differences of Currency are abolished. Need I refer to any mercantile men largely engaged in the Wholesale Trade, or point out the great inducements thus afforded for the embarkation of Capital in this branch by persons heretofore restricted to Retail business? It would occupy too much time to go into detail here, nor does a subject so clear and intelligible to every Commercial man require this. And when the *Seller* may, with increased facilities and fewer (if any) unnatural burdens, extend his trade from New Brunswick to Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, is it not clear likewise that the *Buyer* must reap advantages from the same cause? Now hostile Tariffs, unequal Currencies, and vexatious delays tend to obstruct the

business of the Merchant, and to enhance the price of his merchandise to the buyer, and all alike from one end of the Province to the other, bear the burden consequent upon the comparative restriction of business, and the present expense of carrying even that restricted business forward. By the operation of Confederation, these Tariffs will be obliterated,—Customs levelled,—irritations and delays removed; and from "Newfoundland to Sarabia," the great intelligent laborers of these Colonies, in all spheres of industrial emulation, will command a market remunerative and commensurate with their toils, their excellence and their worth. The industry of the Country will awake to a new life, and the Mechanics, Merchants and Manufacturers,—among them thousands of the native element of this Country,—will not be driven to foreign countries to seek a precarious livelihood beneath an alien flag.

III. THE CHEAPENING OF THE NECESSARIES OF LIFE. It is a startling fact, and one alone which will tend in itself to illustrate this point, that a day or two ago, the rise of the price of FLOUR in New York to an advance of seventy-five cents, caused an increase of the price in Saint John of one dollar per barrel, and this even in the absence of a duty on the American article, while only a year ago thousands of bushels of grain absolutely decayed in the warehouses of Canada, because, after supplying all demands for home consumption and for exportation to the United States, the market was practically exhausted because of the absence of any remunerative mode of transportation to the Lower Colonies!

IV. THE DEFENCES will become improved and permanent. In this connexion I need not again refer to the Dispatches of the Home Government on this subject. It is useless, in the face of the testimony of those who have in the past, do now, and are desirous in the future, to contribute most to the protection of our soil and homes, to deny this self-evident proposition. But that both sides may be heard, I may quote the language of Mr. T. W. ANGLIN on this subject in 1861. Referring to the subject of the Inter-colonial Railway, now an admitted and integral portion of the proposed Constitution, or rather the chief corner stone of its foundation, and to be secured by Imperial Statute, and against which Mr. SMITH made no objection, Mr. ANGLIN in the *Freeman* remarked:

"As we have often said, the Imperial Government, if they are wise, prudent, provident, or economical, would cause this Road to be built at once, IF THEY INTENDED TO RETAIN MILITARY POSSESSION OF THESE PROVINCES, AND TO PROVIDE FOR THEIR DEFENCE FOR ANY LENGTH OF TIME!"

And, treating in the same paragraph of an article on Defences, then lately published in the *London Times*, which paper Mr. ANGLIN says, "however its faults, is well known to be in nearly every case the mouth-piece of the English people, and to utter only those sentiments which pervade the country," proceeds to say:—

"Every word it utters respecting our military defences applies with full force to the Inter-colonial Railway project, which England is asked to construct entirely for military reasons."

And as late as 1866, the same gentleman in the same paper emphatically said:—

"We do not forget the Inter-Colonial Railway."

Nelson has our opinion of its importance as an Imperial work changed in the slightest degree. WITHOUT THAT ROAD WE BELIEVE GREAT BRITAIN COULD NOT POSSIBLY HOLD CANADA FOR ANY LENGTH OF TIME AGAINST THE UNITED STATES."

Recent events on the borders will themselves suggest, without further observation from me, the many other points of the argument on the Defences.

Here are only four positions out of many, in commendation of a just and an equitable arrangement of Union. We have here grouped the Railway, by which we may be brought into immediate contact and communication with the surrounding Colonies and the World; Free trade between all the Colonies, a sure presage and guarantee of our material prosperity; Cheap Necessaries of life, so important to all peoples, but particularly important to the people of young countries, and the Defences, by which shall be protected our native or adopted Home,—the land of our birth or free love,—from the hands of our enemies, be they Fenian invaders on our borders, or Annexationists in our midst.

"For positions," did I say? Aye verily; but they are as the four great pillars which shall sustain in the fabric of our prosperity, while very many others, perhaps smaller and subordinate, cluster around them, and over all, side by side with the emblem of our own Vice-regal Sovereignty, floating the flag of our forefathers.

It may not be out of place here to refer, also, to one other work, which will unquestionably become a necessity of our condition. Railroads are one of the requisites of the age. I know how they have been retarded by the late Government, and the gross insincerity manifested towards them. But after the Union of the Colonies, and ample provision made in the details for our own internal works, as must be the case and as even the Quebec Arrangement contemplated, I know of no work more important or more loudly called for by the exigencies of our geographical position as a line of connection and communication with the United States: Western Extension. If the patriotic efforts of the existing Company fail, which I hope will not be the case, I believe that work should be one of the first legal results of Confederation; and I hold that every man who has the interest of his country at heart as above section and party, should labor faithfully to secure the successful completion of this great Provincial undertaking—either as a Government work or by private enterprise—and not tolerate "any trifling with the subject."

The Hon. Mr. MITCHELL condensed in a small space other weighty matters when he said:

"His Excellency told me how anxious he was that the Province should give effect to the wishes of the British Government, believing, as he did, that it was of immense importance to us, that Union should speedily be carried. He reminded me that the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty; the existing Fenian excitement; the isolated position of the Province; the several futile attempts to obtain the Inter-Colonial Railway, which, under Confederation would be secured; the depressed state of our trade; our decreasing population; as well as the vast resources of the country, only requiring some such measure to give them proper development—all were loud calls upon myself and every other patriotic man,

to assist in consummating a Confederation of the Colonies."

Passing, however, from these points, let us lastly and briefly consider who are the Opponents of Confederation.

No. V.

OUR OPPONENTS.

GENTLEMEN,—

The Opponents of Confederation, in numbers at least, have largely diminished since the last General Election; and indeed it is almost impossible to find a man who will at this day declare himself an anti-Confederate in the original acceptation of the name. On the question of Confederation *per se*, the late Government stand prominently forward, ready to accept an Union, but unfortunately they wish in the first place to destroy the personal and political power and character of those who have brought the subject to its present auspicious position,—divide its friends by persuading them to join in a lamentable exhibition of squabbling and co-ordination, and then forthwith carry forward a scheme "at their own time and in their own way;" or, do hereafter, what they intended to do sometime ago, wrest an opinion in favor of a Scheme from a packed Committee of their "own friends," without any direct appeal to the People! But there can be no middle way on this great National question. Those who would trifle with the subject in this manner, or subordinate it for ulterior ends to partisan contention, or divide or distract the strong Confederate sentiment of the Province by whimsical disputes with His Excellency, are at best our opponents—the opponents of Confederation, of the cherished policy of the great Empire of which we are a part.

ANNEXATIONISTS are our opponents, and although happily they are few in number, they are nevertheless most laborious in intrigue, and will fan every transient excitement, and take advantage of every unfortunate division in popular sentiment, to advance their pet project of handing these Colonies over to the United States. There can be no question successfully raised here. The POTTER protesters in the late Reciprocity Convention, and the MONROE absorbers in the United States Senate and House of Representatives, boldly avowed, and continue almost daily to avow, their intentions in this regard; and the leading newspapers of the United States, like some of the newspapers of our own Province, give up columns of their space to further this antagonism to the Empire. It would protract these letters to too great a length to quote from the numberless documents which substantiate these assertions, but any man who will take the trouble to study the avowed Extension policy of the United States, the speeches of their leading statesmen, or their newspapers, will very soon be fully persuaded that the desire is to extend the territory of that Republic, and to annihilate every vestige of Monarchical Institutions in America, until their supposed "manifest destiny" is fulfilled, and the "idea" of the Republic—

"No pent-up Utes contracts our powers, The whole unbounded Continent is ours," shall become something more than the staple of the speeches of Fourth of July

orators. But in addition to all this, the very word Annexation conveys its own meaning, which cannot be misunderstood.

No man can fail to admire the United States. Consolidated under one form of Government, populated by an enlightened and enterprising people, having incorporated into their polity many of the best institutions of Great Britain, they have reached a degree of colossal greatness which no man should pretend to depreciate. And yet, except in the Union of their separate States into a consolidated Confederation, they have nothing which we should desire that we cannot obtain as British subjects, and much that we would not have at any price.

Confederated as these Colonies should be, and I hope will be, they contain within themselves all the ingredients of greatness: enterprise among their people, wealth inherent in their soil, and stability and dignity in their institutions, to make them a nation of which our mother country shall be proud, and a generous rival of the Republic of the West; and all this free from the intensely democratic character of many of the features of the United States, and without the levying of enormous Direct Taxation. Apart, therefore, from the glory and traditions of this great British Empire, of which we should then form a powerful and an influential part, we have in material considerations alone no reason to desire to throw off our allegiance to that Constitution which has so long overarched and protected us all.

THE ENEMIES OF ENGLAND are our opponents. These I distinguish from Annexationists as those who have no settled convictions as to the future, but who are restless and turbulent spirits wherever they move, and have no bond of concord among themselves, but the one intense desire to imperil the unity and integrity of the Empire, and raise non-resistance of the people against the constituted authorities, at home and abroad. Among these conspicuously appear

THE FENIANS, who are our opponents. It is certainly humiliating to every loyal Colonist to find these wretched desperados congregating upon the borders of our Province, either for the purpose of taking advantage of our position, if we were found defenceless, or to interfere with the settlement of our own internal affairs on this very subject of Confederation. It is now useless to deny these things. But for the state of defence in which our border was placed by the Imperial Cabinet and the present Provincial Government, it is not too much to believe that our fellow-subjects on the border towns would have suffered from the lawless raids of such wicked and desperate men. But it now concerns us to consider the political utterances of these persons.

Many months ago, the accredited officers of the Fenian Brotherhood announced in their "Messages" and "Bulletins," that one of the chief objects of their hateful organization was to prevent the Confederation of these Colonies! and even urged rapid military movements against the Colonies before the consummation of Union placed their coveted prize even further beyond their reach.

But what have been the deliverances of these outlaws, even on our borders, with arms in their hands? Indeed, they boldly profess to be holding on the frontier a standing Anti-Confederate Meeting!

"The Editor of the *St. John's Courier*, who was present at the Fenian public meeting in Calais, in the course of his remarks on the speeches there delivered says:

"Another and a leading point made by Mr. Killian was that it was manifestly the duty of the United States to prevent a Confederation of the British Provinces. That he said was his present object, and he said his men would stay on the frontier here till that question was a fixed, and if those opposed to the British policy of Confederation desired, the Fenians would step in and help them to resist it. It would be the true policy, moreover, of the United States to counteract them in so doing, because if it was the true American policy to remove a monarchy from Mexico how much more careful they ought to be to see that one is not established at Ottawa."

Let us also turn to the evidence, as recently published in the *St. John's Telegraph and News*, and collated from that organ of Fenianism, Annexation, and hatred of England, the *New York Herald*.

(From the *N. Y. Herald's* *Federated Correspondent*.)

The *Herald* has had a correspondent at Fredericton during the Session. Our private advices assure us that this gentleman has been generally in the company of members of the late Government and their supporters; the tone of his letters amply confirms the statement. We had in view elaborate pulls of Messrs. SMITH & CO. Mr. SMITH is represented as the most remarkable man in his Assembly, and "very agreeable in the social circle." Mr. ANDERSON is the next most remarkable man; Mr. COCHRAN is also a great fellow; Mr. NICHOLAS is the Curator of the House; Messrs. HILL, FRASER, and HAYWARD (the latter having previously visited the British Government hot quarters in London), also come in for fulsome notices. We are pleased to find that a *New York Herald* correspondent has nothing to say of any Confederate member of the body. It is clearly seen, then, where this gentleman receives his inspiration, and it is important to note the character of the information received from such sources. He asserts that "deep and loud are the threats made as to what will be done" if Confederation should be carried. "One indignant individual expressed his wish that ten thousand Fenians would come and carry off the Governor. Even blood-hed is threatened." We quote further:

"Once it is as they may endeavor, there is an undercurrent feeling just now which breathes of the *Paris*. '70. I am sure I do not find it as ardent as it is in the social conversation, in the lobby, in the hotel, I have heard the threat that Confederation would be followed by revolution and annexation. The example of the colonies in the American war for independence is not only brought in as an illustration of what an outraged people had done to secure their liberties, but the example is held up as a proper one for imitation, should the last necessity arise here. There always has been a feeling for annexation, on the ground of policy; but the want of a grievance against the mother country has prevented any step to rebellion, and would prevent it for all time. But now, with a threatened invasion of their rights, such as arbitrary confederation would be, the feeling would rise to revolt. Taxation without representation led to the American revolution. Legislation without representation might lead to another. No one is more jealous of his liberty than a provincial, and the merely nominal ties of loyalty he would sunder rather than surrender it.

Emulation of the neighboring republic has ever pervaded this province, and when the late war sealed the great popular verdict that republican institutions are imperishable, admiration for the American government increased to envy. There is no disguising the fact that this province (I do not mean this to the exclusion of others), possesses in its population an element which is earnestly desirous of annexation to the United States. The advantages of such a procedure are extolled without reserve, and nothing surprises an American as much as to hear, in this country, where the flag and royal emblems of England are seen, where respect the compliments to his country and her prosperity. The argument

of these people just now is that if confederation is to benefit the province, why not unite with the people who are their natural allies, and who promise the more advantageous terms."

(From the Herald Editorial.)

The passage of these resolutions and the adoption of the Address to the Queen praying for home action on the subject of Confederation created great indignation among the Anti-Confederationalists and Annexationists. The agitation of the question will lead, it is believed, to the still more momentous question of the right of the Home Government to thus arbitrarily legislate for the Colonies, and may produce in the Maritime Provinces of British North America the same feeling and circumstances which resulted in our Revolution of 1776. The opposition to the Scheme of Confederation is very open, bold and undisguised, and our correspondent reports it as of a decidedly revolutionary tendency. The example of the United States in 1776 is quoted as worthy of emulation, and the influence of this country is felt in a degree which the friends of Confederation are slow to confess and admire. The desire for Annexation to the United States is already strong, and constantly increasing; and profound respect for our institutions, customs and men is expressed on all sides by the people of the Province."

Such are the published views and purposes of these desperate outlaws. It is insinuating to every New Brunswicker! It remains to be seen what effect this blustering will have on the loyal people of this Province, and whether they prefer the advocates of "bloodshed" and "revolt" to those of British Unity and Consolidation.

Now I am not prepared to assert that all "our opponents" are agreed in this or any policy. There are no doubt many good men who will oppose Confederation in one breath, and condemn Fenianism and its twin sister Annexation in the next, but it is strange that all desire alike to oppose the achievement of the reasonable wishes of our Queen and her Ministers.

On the one side, we have Her Majesty, whose Royal Speeches from the Imperial Throne, have commended Union to her Colonial subject; we have her Ministers; we have the great minds of the Opposition in Parliament; we have the British people; we have the leading Statesmen and the Legislatures of Canada, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland; we have the loyal and patriotic sentiment of true lovers of Crown and Constitution!

Opposed to these, we have Annexation-

ists, Fenians, the enemies of the Empire, and those who resist the Union of these Colonies as recommended by the Mother Country, and declare it, as the *Freeman* declared it, "accursed of God and man." We have, also, the "conspirators" against the Colonies who have formed that disloyal association called the "Sons of Freedom;" we have public men who, in Nova Scotia, declare they "would like to hear that 50,000 Fenians had invaded Canada;" and in New Brunswick exclaim, "Down the British Government—I wish they were in hell!" with those who have defamed the Government of the Realm, as "sordid, mercenary, bearded tools and dupes of conspirators, fit only to be disliked and despised!"

The line of demarcation is distinctly drawn, and I can only say I do not envy those gentlemen who, while I believe they sincerely detest these seditious movements and such disloyal language, at the same time, by some strange infatuation, are found battling in company with such persons and with such weapons, against the benignant rule, and "earnest and friendly suggestions" and wishes of Her Majesty's Government. I bring no railing accusation against them: I do not arraign them for disloyalty or insincerity in their course; for some of them I may entertain feelings of personal respect and friendship; but if, when the struggle comes, they are really found in the same boat with such companions, much as they may "dislike and despise" them, they must not wonder that they all alike go down together when their ship goes down!

CONCLUSION.

GENTLEMEN,—

Having thus brought these important matters prominently before you, by general desire of many friends of Union, I commend them to your serious consideration. It is beyond all question of primary moment, that a fair investigation should be given them, and that all men who have made New Brunswick their home, should approach them with earnest hearts and deliberative minds. All conflicts of opinion as to the details of particular Schemes are hushed; all excitement raised by politicians for personal pur-

poses has subsided; and the one great subject remains for your decision:

CONFEDERATION ON THE BEST POSSIBLE TERMS.

OR

NO-CONFEDERATION ON ANY TERMS!

As we are all deeply and personally interested, so we should all decide for ourselves, with a single eye to the prosperity and dignity of our Province and People, and the general good of posterity.

Indeed, I cannot better close these letters than by adopting the language of the Hon. Joseph Howe in "A Lecture delivered before the St. John Early Closing Association, at the Hall of the Mechanics' Institute, November 28th 1859."

Speaking of the love of country Mr. Howe said:—

"And bless the feeling, for it ever leads To sacred thoughts, and high and daring deeds. "May it be so, in all your cases, my young friends. May New Brunswick ever possess, in full measure, the rich inheritance of her children's love; and MAY YOU EVER ACT UNDER THE STRONG CONVICTION THAT THERE IS A NOBLE COUNTRY, PRESENTLY TO BECOME A NATION, WHOSE GREAT HEART MAY BE WOUNDED OR STRENGTHENED BY YOUR BEHAVIOUR. "What will they say in England?" was NELSON's first and last thought. Let your's ever be, what will they say in New Brunswick? What will THEY THINK IN THE PROVINCES? Store your minds with knowledge; be not ashamed to do your country's work day by day, and to live thereby; but make every noble accomplishment within your reach, and "be ready—aye ready." Tell could not have hit the apple if he had not learned to shoot, nor could DAVID have vanquished the Philistine if he had not learned to sling. SEE THAT YOU HAVE ARROWS IN YOUR QUIVER AND PERICLES IN YOUR SACK, WHEN YOUR COUNTRY CALLS YOU TO EXERTION. BRITISH AMERICA IS RAPIDLY EXPANDING INTO AN EMPIRE. HER FUTURE IS FULL OF HOPE AND PROMISE FOR YOU ALL. Every man's hour for exertion sounds at some time. When yours sounds, be ready; and in the meantime, in all your labors, studies and amusements, may the blessing of the Most High descend upon you, fitting you for the trials of the earth, and training you for Heaven."

I can add nothing more touching, more Statesmanlike or more ennobling, and I conclude by asking your careful consideration of the earnest truths thus eloquently uttered by Mr. Howe.

I am, your obedient servant,

A NEW BRUNSWICKER.

Saint John, N. B., May 1856.

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